

NOTES ON BYZANTINE MONUMENTS

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I. *Graffiti in St. Sophia, Trebizond*

In 1962 I visited St. Sophia, Trebizond, which was then undergoing restoration under the general supervision of Professor D. Talbot Rice. The presence of a scaffold enabled me to see at close quarters the paintings in the upper reaches of the church, and my attention was drawn to a number of graffiti in the drum of the dome. These I photographed with the kind permission of Mr. David Winfield, who was acting as field director. At a later date I communicated my photographs to Professor Talbot Rice and, at his request, sent him a hastily made transcription of the Greek text. When the publication of the church came out, I was surprised to find in it a version of my transcription which was not only garbled, but had evidently been subjected to some kind of "emendation," and was followed by an erroneous English rendering. Further, all of this was ascribed to me.¹

Since the graffiti in question are not without importance, I should like to give here what I believe to be their correct reading, namely:

1. (fig. 1) αν[ε]κ(αι)ν[ισ]θι ὁ [- -]
(καὶ) θι[ος] ναὸς (καὶ) ἡ τούρλα
τῆς ἀγί[ας]
Σο[φ]ίας μνην αὐγ(οῦ)στος
εἰς τὰ κ[-] ἔτους ς ρ' 98'

i.e., "The holy church and the dome of St. Sophia were restored on the twenty-[] of August of the year 6994 [= A.D. 1486]."

2. (fig. 1) † πάλην ἐνεκ(αι)ν[ισ]θη ἡ τούρλα
με ὄλον τ(ὸν) να(ὸν)
ἐν ἔτ(ει) Ἰνς' ἐν μην(ί) ὀκτ(οβρίῳ)
ὑπο Γεωργ(ίου) θύτου †

i.e., "Once again the dome as well as the whole church were restored in the month of October of the year 7056 [= A.D. 1547] by the priest George."

¹ *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond*, ed. D. Talbot Rice (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 6f.

3. (fig. 2) Βαρνάβας
ἱερομοναχος
καὶ ἐκκλη-
σιάρχ(ης) (τῆς) ἐνθ(άδε)
ἀγί(ας) μονῆς)
ἔτ[- - -]

i.e., "Barnabas, *hieromonachos* and *ecclesiarch* of this holy monastery, year ..."

One clear implication of these graffiti is that St. Sophia was still in the hands of the Greek clergy in 1547 and cannot, therefore, have been converted into a mosque in 1511 as Talbot Rice seems to believe on the authority of Evliya Çelebi.² We know from the account of Julien Bordier that some time before 1609 St. Sophia had been made a mosque but was later abandoned by the Turks and remained unused.³ The Greek graffiti dated 1631 and 1660 which Millet read on the exterior of the apse⁴ suggest that the building could not have been a regularly functioning mosque before the latter part of the seventeenth century.

II. *Frescoes in the Octagon of St. Mary Chalkoprateia, Istanbul.*

The octagonal substructure next to the ruined church of St. Mary Chalkoprateia has been known for some decades to a few interested scholars, but it remained unpublished until 1965 when Dr. W. Kleiss devoted a detailed investigation to it.⁵ In 1953 I visited this substructure with the late Professor Paul Underwood. At the time it was used as a depot for waste paper which filled most of

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου, VI (1935), p. 120.

⁴ *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XIX (1895), p. 429.

⁵ "Neue Befunde zur Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XV (1965), p. 149ff.; *idem*, "Grabungen im Bereich der Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul 1965," *ibid.*, XVI (1966), p. 217ff.

the interior, in places up to the ceiling. We were nevertheless able to measure the building and to photograph two fragments of fresco that were then visible on its walls.⁶ These fragments have since disappeared. I regret that at the time we did not take detailed notes on the frescoes: the photographs presented here constitute, therefore, the only available record of them.

The better preserved of the two fragments (fig. 3) was situated on the central pier of the octagon facing the west exedra⁷ and was level with the springing of the vault. It represented two (of the three) Magi, wearing the usual priestly miters and riding on horseback. Behind them was the outline of a mountain. The composition was delimited at the top with a band of design consisting of heart-shaped motifs. The Magi may have been part of a Nativity, although one cannot exclude the possibility of an independent composition representing their journey, as at Kariye Camii.⁸ In the semidome of the exedra facing the Magi were a few faint letters which I interpreted as $\phi \chi \epsilon \rho \epsilon [\tau \iota \sigma] \mu \omicron \varsigma$, i.e., the Annunciation.

The second fragment of fresco was, if my memory serves me rightly, in the east exedra, and represented the Slaying of Zacharias (fig. 4). All that remained of the composition was the ciborium of the sanctuary and one of its doorposts terminating in a finial. The inscription, placed between the columns of the sanctuary, was, however, perfectly clear: $\delta \alpha (\gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma) \text{ Ζαχαρίας } | \text{ ἀναιρούμενος } | \text{ ἐν τῷ } \theta \upsilon \sigma \iota \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota \omega$. Both paintings were undeniably of the Paleologan period as indicated by their style and the character of the lettering.

The substructure of the octagon was, therefore, decorated in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century with an extensive Infancy Cycle including at least one fairly uncommon apocryphal scene, and probably

⁶ The existence of the frescoes has been reported by J. Lafontaine, "Fouilles et découvertes byzantines à Istanbul de 1952 à 1960," *Byzantion*, XXIX-XXX (1960), p. 367, on the basis of information received from Dumbarton Oaks. The two photographs published here are also being reproduced by her in the forthcoming 4th volume of *The Kariye Djami*, ed. † P. A. Underwood (Bollingen Series).

⁷ See plan in Kleiss, "Grabungen," p. 220.

⁸ See P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966), I, p. 92f., II, pl. 173.

more than one, since the Slaying of Zacharias is usually accompanied by the Flight of Elizabeth.⁹ The presence of such a cycle is surprising in a basement that does not seem to have been designed for liturgical use, and calls for some comment.

We know from literary sources that the basilica of St. Mary Chalkoprateia was adjoined by a number of chapels, namely the Soros which contained the famous relic of the Girdle, a chapel of Christ, and a chapel of St. James.¹⁰ Might the octagon, which borders the north side of the atrium, have supported one of these three chapels? Dr. Kleiss does not think so, and suggests instead that it supported a baptistery.¹¹ His main argument is that the massive central pier of the octagon was meant to uphold a heavy item placed in the middle of the superimposed building, an item such as a large baptismal font; and it so happens that a marble font, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, stood during the Turkish period in the vicinity of the Chalkoprateia.

Our fragmentary frescoes invite us to reconsider Dr. Kleiss's conclusion. The Soros

⁹ As, probably, at St. Sophia, Trebizond: D. Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 93 and fig. 59. The Slaying of Zacharias occurs several times in Cappadocia as part of an Infancy Cycle: at St. Eustathius (Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I, pp. 155, 159f. and pl. 38.3); Tokalı Kilise, old church (*ibid.*, I, pp. 269, 274, and pl. 66.2); Çavuşin, St. John Baptist (doubtful: *ibid.*, I, p. 516) and "pigeonnier" (*ibid.*, I, pp. 526, 534, and plate 142.2); Belli kilise, small cone (*ibid.*, II, pp. 278, 280f., and pl. 182.1). The same scene could also form part of a menologium cycle for September 5, as at Dečani (M. Pupin, *Manastir Dečani* [Belgrade, 1941], II, p. 7 and pl. civ, top left) and as laid down in the Painter's Guide (Dionysios of Fournā, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus [St. Petersburg, 1909], p. 190), but this was clearly not the case here. For the iconography, cf. also Paris. gr. 510, f. 137^r (H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nationale* [Paris, 1929], pl. xxxii) and Vat. gr. 1613, p. 14 (*Il Menologio di Basilio II = Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, VIII [1907], II, p. 14).

¹⁰ See J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), p. 58ff.; D. Lathoud, "Le sanctuaire de la Vierge aux Chalcopratia," *Echos d'Orient*, XXIII (1924), p. 36ff.; R. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I/3 (Paris, 1953), pp. 249f., 261ff., 520ff.

¹¹ "Neue Befunde," p. 163ff.

should probably be ruled out because we are told that it communicated directly with the north aisle of the basilica.¹² Concerning the chapel of Christ nothing definite can be said: it may possibly have been the same as the anonymous chapel which is described in the *Book of Ceremonies* as being on the left-hand side of the church.¹³ This leaves us with the chapel of St. James. Now, the English pilgrim who came to Constantinople at the very end of the twelfth century has this to say concerning the church of the Chalkoprateia:

Iuxta autem sanctam Sophiam ecclesia est sancte Marie Dei genitricis que vocatur Calcopratia. In ipsa ergo ecclesia sunt ecclesie tres: una Christi, alia sancte Marie et alia sancti Iacobi fratris Domini. In magna enim ecclesia sancte Marie sunt reliquie sancti Niceti [sic] martiris. In ecclesia autem Salvatoris est imago eius supra in altare commissa et in ipsa imagine Christi factum est magnum miraculum in tempore Heraclii imperatoris . . . [Here follows the familiar story of the merchant Theodore and the Jew Abraham relating to the image called Antiphonetes].¹⁴

Iuxta autem ipsam ecclesiam est ecclesia sancte Marie Dei genitricis. Supra autem altare ipsius ecclesie est posita argentea archa et iacet intus vestimentum sancte Marie Dei genitricis. In dextera autem parte altaris sunt reliquie sanctarum mulierum que quesierunt Christum in monumento portantes unguenta in sepulturam eius.

In atrio autem foras ipsius ecclesie est ecclesia sancti Iacobi apostoli. Suptus autem ipsius ecclesie in cripta iacet sanctus Iacobus frater Domini et Zacharias propheta domini, pater sancti Iohannis Baptiste, sanctus Simeon qui suscepit dominum et sancti Innocentes.¹⁵

The expression *ipsius ecclesie* which occurs in the second and third paragraphs has led commentators to believe that the relics in question were kept in the main basilica.¹⁶ This, however, is surely not the meaning of

the text: the *vestimentum* was exhibited on the altar of the Soros, which was the second *ecclesia sancte Marie*;¹⁷ and as for the relics of James, Zacharias, and others, they must have been preserved in a crypt *suptus ipsius ecclesie*, i.e., underneath the church of St. James. That this was indeed the case may be seen from the following passage of the *Patria* which indicates the same location of the relics:

"The holy Soros of the Chalkoprateia was built by Justin [II] and Sophia who also restored the church [i.e., the main basilica] . . . In it lies the holy Girdle and the Tunic (ἑσθής) of the holy Mother of God, while the holy *omophorion* is in the Blachernae.

"The same Emperor built also St. James [which is close by] and he placed in a reliquary there¹⁸ the relics of the holy Innocents, of St. Symeon who received God, of the Prophet Zacharias, and of St. James, the brother of the Lord. He also placed on the left-hand side of the Soros the hairs of St. John the Baptist, and on the right-hand side the bodies of all the women who brought unguents."¹⁹

The chapel of St. James was, therefore, in atrio and had a crypt which contained various relics relating to the infancy of Christ, among them those of Zacharias. The superstructure of the octagon stood likewise next to the north side of the atrium, and its crypt was decorated with an Infancy Cycle including a picture of the martyrdom of Zacharias. We are surely justified in concluding that the octagon supported the chapel of St. James.

Another inference that may be drawn from the frescoes is that at least one part of

¹⁷ Antony of Novgorod who came to Constantinople in 1200, i.e., practically at the same time as the English pilgrim, confirms the fact that the Tunic as well as the Girdle were kept in a reliquary chapel adjoining the church, "vo prikupnoj racje," i.e., in the Soros: ed. Khr. Loparev, *Pravosl. Palestinskij Sbornik*, No. 51 (1899), p. 21.

¹⁸ Or "in reliquaries" which is probably the better reading: see apparatus of Greek edition. The inserted words in brackets, "which is close by" = τὸν πλησίον αὐτῆς (i.e., close to the Soros), represent the reading of cod. H (Paris. gr. 854, saec. XIV).

¹⁹ *Script. orig. Constant.*, ed. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), p. 263.

¹² *De Cerimoniis*, ed. Bonn, I, pp. 31, 166.

¹³ *Ibid.* It is equally possible that this anonymous chapel was St. James's.

¹⁴ On this story, see my *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 142ff.

¹⁵ S. G. Mercati, "Santuari e reliquie Constantinopolitane," *Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. di Archeol.*, XII (1936), pp. 144f., 150.

¹⁶ So Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 262, followed by Kleiss, "Neue Befunde," pp. 154, 163.

the Chalkoprateia complex continued to function until the fourteenth century.²⁰

III. Tomb of Manuel I Comnenus

In *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), p. 397ff., I discussed a drawing of 1750 which, I believe, represents the tomb—or, to be more precise, the lid of the tomb—of the Emperor Manuel I in the Pantocrator monastery.²¹ Further material bearing on this tomb is provided by a work that is not often read by byzantinists, the *Geography* of Meletios of Ioannina (d. 1714)²² and has been reproduced in a Hungarian publication that is to all intents and purposes inaccessible.²³ The description of Constantinople contained in the *Geography* includes a lengthy list of churches that turns out, upon inspection, to have been excerpted from Du Cange.²⁴ The differences between Meletios and Du Cange are negligible,²⁵ except in the case of the Pantocrator monastery, where Meletios has this to say:

²⁰ Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 247, draws attention to the fact that the Chalkoprateia church is not mentioned by the Russian pilgrims of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is, however, referred to as being still extant by Nicephorus Callistus in *ca.* 1320: *Hist. eccles.*, XIV.2, PG 146, col. 1061.

²¹ This tomb was carved in the shape of a church with seven domes. Church-shaped tombs of relatively recent date are found in Armenia and the Crimea: see A. L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyi Khersones*, Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii S.S.S.R., No. 17 (1950), figs. 155–157.

²² Μελετίου γεωγραφία παλαιά καὶ νέα (Venice, 1728), p. 426. There exists a second edition in four volumes (Venice, 1807). On the career of Meletios, see K. N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνική φιλολογία* (Athens, 1868), p. 390ff.

²³ G. Moravcsik, *Szent László Leánya és a Bizánci Pantokrator Monostor*, A Konstantinápolyi Magyar Tudományos Intézet Közleményei, fasc. 7–8 (1923), pp. 52f., 82.

²⁴ *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680), bks. III and IV. Meletios' list of churches was copied and provided with a Russian translation by the pilgrim Vasilij Grigorovič-Barskij: *Stranstvovaniia po Sviatym Mestam*, ed. N. Barsukov, IV (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 14ff.

²⁵ They consist mostly of omissions and transposition. Only in the case of the churches that remained in Greek hands after the Conquest does Meletios (*op. cit.*, p. 436) give a slightly longer and more correct list than Du Cange (*op. cit.*, bk. IV, p. 162).

"The monastery of Pantocrator built by the Emperor John Comnenus according to Nicetas, bk. I, ch. i, whereas according to Cinnamus, bk. I and the Menologium of August 13th, it was built by Irene, John's wife. Many notable things were kept there, among them the icon of the Mother of God painted by Luke. It was situated near the Holy Apostles and was inhabited by 700 monks of the order of St. Antony. [Down to this point Meletios is following Du Cange.] Today it is called Zeyrek.

"In this monastery were furthermore the following iambic verses which, according to tradition (ἐκ παραδόσεως),²⁶ were inscribed on the stone upon which Joseph washed the Saviour after he had taken him down from the cross:

Ὅρων τὰ καινὰ ταῦτα θαύμαζε, ξένε·
βουλὴν μαθητοῦ σχηματουργεῖ δεσπότης
ᾧμοις βασιλεὺς Μανουὴλ λίθον φέρων,
ἐν ᾧ τὸ σῶμα συνταθὲν τοῦ Κυρίου
ἐσχηματίσθη πρὸς ταφὴν τῇ συνδόνῃ· 5
καὶ τοῦτον αἶρει, τὴν ταφὴν προμηνύων,
ὡς συνταφῇ θάνατον ἐσταυρωμένω
καὶ συναναστῇ τᾷ ταφέντι Δεσπότη.
ἡ δ' αὖ βασιλὶς καὶ σύνευνος Μαρία,
τῇ δὲ στερήσῃ τοῦ φεραυγοῦς δεσπότητος 10
αὐγοῦστα σεπτὴ βασιλὶς πάλιν Ζένη,
αὐτοκρατοῦντι σὺν Ἀλεξίῳ γόνῳ
ὡς μυροφόρος μύστις ἄλλῃ Μαρία
τὰ μύρα τοῖς δάκρυσιν κρινᾷ καὶ πάλιν,
οὐ τὸν λίθον ζητοῦσα τίς ἐκκυλίσῃ 15
λωφόρου μνήματος ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας,
ἀλλ' ὡς κυλίσῃ ζωτικὸν λίθον τάφῳ,
ἐν ᾧ τέθαπται σῶμα χριστοῦ Κυρίου,
τοῦ Μανουὴλ ἀνακτος, εἶτα Ματθαίου,
ἐν οἷς βασιλεὺς τοῖς δυσὶ θωνύμοις 20

Mel. = Meletios; Mor. = Moravcsik.

7 ἐσταυρωμένον Mel.

15–16 cf. Marc. 16:3

17 ζωτικὸς Mel. corr. Mor.

18 cf. Psalm. 2:2

²⁶ I have translated the Greek as it stands, but its wording is somewhat awkward and ambiguous. Did Meletios mean to say that the verses were, according to tradition, inscribed on the stone, or that the stone in question was the one on which, according to tradition, Christ's body was laid? The second alternative would make better sense, but it would require a transposition of the phrase ἐκ παραδόσεως.

- διττὰς καθαιρεῖ τὰς ἐναντίας φύσεις·
 ὁ γὰρ Μανουὴλ ἦτταν ἐθνῶν ἐμφέρει,
 τῶν δ' αὖ νοητῶν κλησὶς ἡ τοῦ Ματθαίου
 τῷ σχηματισμῷ τῆς ἰσαγγέλου θέας.
 25 ἡ γοῦν βασιλὶς δάκρυσιν ὥσπερ μύροις
 ὄλην ἑαυτὴν ἔκκενοῖ πρὸς τὸν λίθον,
 φωνὴν παρεστῶσ' ὡς ἐπαφήσῃ πάλιν
 καὶ δεύτερον Ἀλζαρον ἐξαναπλάσῃ·
 εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀκούσει καρτερῶν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ,
 30 αὐτῷ λίθῳ κρούσαιτο τὴν τάφου θύραν,
 δι' οὗ τάφων πρὶν ἡνεώχθησαν λίθοι,
 πέτραι διερράγησαν Ἄδου καὶ πύλαι,
 καὶ τὸν νέκυν κλέψει τὸν πεφιλμένον
 καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς καρδίαν ὡς σινδόνα
 35 καινὴν ὑφαπλώσασα σκευάσῃ μύρα,
 ἀντ' ἄλλοις δάκρυα καὶ σμύρνης μύρα,
 καὶ πενθικῷ σχήματι ταῦτα κωκύσῃ·
 «ὦ καρδία, ῥάγηθι· δέξαι δεσπότην
 σπλαγχνῶν ἐμῶν ἔσωθι τῶν πολυστόνων,
 40 ὃν εἶχες ἐγκάρδιον, ὄνπερ ἐφίλεις,
 οὗ νῦν θανόντος καὶ κρυβέντος ἐν λίθῳ
 πέπηγα κόγῳ τῷ πάθει καθὰ λίθος
 καὶ συννεκροῦμαι τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τῷ λίθῳ,
 ψυχῆς ῥαγείσης καὶ πνοῆς ἀποπτάσης·
- — — — —

27 παρεστῶς Mel.

31 cf. Matth. 27:52

35 μύρα σκευάσῃ propter metrum transposuit Mor.

35 cf. Joh. 19:39

40 ἐφίλεις: ἡγάπας propter metrum coniecit Mor.
 Post v. 44 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς add. Mel.

The poem, which appears to be incomplete, may be rendered as follows:

"Admire these strange things as thou seest them, O stranger: our lord, the emperor Manuel reenacts the resolve of the Disciple [Joseph of Arimathea] as he bears on his shoulders that stone upon which the Lord's body was placed and prepared for burial in a winding sheet. He lifts it up announcing in advance his own burial, that in death he may be buried together with the Crucified One and may arise together with our buried Lord. The Empress Maria, his wife, who, deprived of her resplendent lord, is still our holy augusta [though named] Xene, together with her son, the ruler Alexius, like that other Maria who secretly brought unguents, once again mixes unguents with her tears, not in seeking him who will roll the stone away from the door of the life-giving tomb, but that she may roll that life-giving stone

to the tomb wherein is buried the body of the Lord's anointed, the emperor Manuel, renamed Matthew—two divine names by which the emperor defeats two kinds of adversaries: for [the name] Manuel inflicts defeat upon alien nations, while that of Matthew acts likewise on spiritual [enemies] by the aspect of his angelic habit. Now, the Empress sheds tears like unguents and wears herself out before the stone, standing there that she, too, may utter those words and raise a second Lazarus. But if he hears her not as he awaits the Last Day, she might knock on the door of the tomb with that stone by means of which aforesaid sepulchral stones were opened, rocks rent asunder and the gates of Hell, and she might steal the beloved corpse and lay down her heart as a winding-sheet and prepare unguents—tears in the place of aloes, and unguents in the place of myrrh—and in mournful fashion utter this lament: 'Break, O my heart, and receive my master within my much-sighing bosom—him whom I did love in my heart. Now that he has died and hidden himself in a stone, I too have turned to stone with sorrow and I am deadened as much as the stone tomb, for my spirit has been rent and my breath has flown away.' [And so on.]"

The poem shows every mark of authenticity. Manuel I did indeed assume the monastic name of Matthew shortly before his death on September 24, 1180, and his widow, Mary of Antioch, thereafter took the veil under the name of Xene.²⁷ As for the stone, we know that it was translated from Ephesus to Constantinople in the twenty-seventh year of Manuel's reign, i.e., 1169–70,²⁸ that it was received with great ceremony at the Boucoleon harbor of the Great Palace and that Manuel carried it on his own shoulders from the harbor to the chapel of Our Lady of the Pharos,²⁹ a feat to which the poem alludes in line three. After being kept for ten years in the said chapel, the stone was placed next to Manuel's tomb in the Pantocrator monastery,

²⁷ Du Cange, *Familiae augustae Byzantinae* (Paris, 1680), p. 186.

²⁸ See the *acolutia* composed for the occasion by George Skylitzes: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσ. σταχυολογίας*, V (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. 180.

²⁹ Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed. p. 289; Cinna-mus, Bonn ed., p. 277f.

as stated by Nicetas Choniates: "He [Manuel] was buried in the monastery of the Pantocrator, on one side as you enter the church—not in the church itself, but in the *herōon* that is next to it. Next to the tomb there opens up a wide entrance, i.e., where the wall of the church forms an arch. He is enclosed under a stone of a blackish color, which gives it a mournful aspect, divided into seven pinnacles. Beside it, placed on a pedestal (ἐπὶ κρηπίδος) a red stone, long as a human body, is exposed to veneration. This had previously been kept in the church of Ephesus, and it is said to be the one upon which, after His descent from the cross, Christ was wrapped in funeral clothes and embalmed."³⁰ Under the archway which connects the main, south church of the Pantocrator complex with the middle church (the *herōon*) there is a cavity measuring 2.45 by 0.64 m. containing three pairs of dowel-holes lined with lead (fig. 5). It is highly probable that either the tomb or the κρηπίς to which Nicetas alludes was set into these holes.³¹ The relic itself must have been, of course, rather shorter than the length of the cavity, say 1.70 to 1.80 m.,³² but it may have been enclosed in a frame and, besides, the pedestal may well have been broader than the relic. The exact relation of Manuel's tomb to the relic is difficult to determine, although the poem makes it clear that the two were placed in the closest proximity. Salzenberg shows the *opus sectile* pavement extending through the archway without break to about the center of the western bay of the *herōon*,³³ and it does not seem at all likely that the tomb could have stood upon that portion of the pavement. It would be tempting to think that the images of the Women at the Sepulchre and *Noli me tangere* which are mentioned in the Pantocrator *typicon* as being in an arch of

the *herōon*³⁴ were located above the Stone of the Deposition.

As stated by Nicetas, the Stone of the Deposition was of red color, and we know from other sources that it was covered with spots believed to have been caused by the Virgin Mary's tears.³⁵ Clavijo says that it was of "many colors" (*muchas colores*).³⁶ Antony of Novgorod specifies that the spots were white, "like drops of wax."³⁷ The material could hardly have been porphyry which was too familiar to Byzantine observers to have given rise to this etiological legend.

We know from several later references that the Stone of the Deposition remained in the Pantocrator monastery until the Turkish conquest.³⁸ It may have been removed shortly

³⁴ A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisej*, I (Kiev, 1895), p. 678: εἰς τὰς δύο τοῦ ἡρώου ἀψίδας, ἄγουν εἰς τὴν Σταύρωσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀνάστασιν ἀνὰ κηρίον ἓν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἀψίδα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἅγιον Τάφον κηρίον ἓν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ταῖς Μαρταῖς ἐπιφανιζόμενον ἕτερον κηρίον ἓν. In his attempt to locate the various images mentioned in the *typicon*, Moravcsik (*op. cit.*, p. 25) places the "Taphos" and Christ appearing to the Marys precisely where we would have liked to see them. It is only fair to say, however, that the text does not necessarily support this localization.

³⁵ Cinnamus, *loc. cit.*; Robert de Clari, xcii, ed. Ph. Lauer, *La conquête de Constantinople* (Paris, 1924), p. 90; Clavijo, *loc. cit.*

³⁶ *Loc. cit.*

³⁷ Ed. Khr. Loparev, *Pravosl. Palestinskij Sbornik*, No. 51 (1899), pp. 24f., 63, 84. The pilgrim Zosima (ca. 1420) says that the marks of the Virgin's tears were "white like milk": ed. Loparev, *Pravosl. Palest. Sbornik*, No. 24 (1889), p. 6 = Mme B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), p. 204.

³⁸ It is mentioned by Stephen of Novgorod (1349), Ignatius of Smolensk (1389–90), the Anonymous Russian Pilgrim (1390), and Alexander (ca. 1395) in addition to Clavijo (1403) and Zosima. Likewise by Buondelmonti (ca. 1420), ed. G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, III (1931), p. 276. Cf. Donado da Lezze (really G. M. Angiolello), *Historia turchesca*, ed. I. Ursu (Bucharest, 1909), p. 163. The presence of the stone in the Pantocrator is also attested by a Greek pilgrim to the Holy Land: Ἀωνύμου περιγραφή τῶν Ἁγίων Τόπων περὶ τὰ τέλη τῆς ἰδ' ἑκατονταετηρίδος, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravosl. Palest. Sbornik*, No. 26 (1890), p. 2. This text, incidentally, cannot be of the late fourteenth century because the author (p. 11) compares the Bethlehem basilica to the "burnt-down church of

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

³¹ See A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), p. 342.

³² González de Clavijo says that it was nine palms long, which comes to about the same thing as Nicetas' ἀνδρομήκης: *Embajada a Tamerlán*, ed. F. L. Estrada (Madrid, 1943), p. 53; cf. English trans. by G. Le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane* (London, 1928), p. 83.

³³ *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (Berlin, 1855), pl. xxxvi.

thereafter to the Seraglio if it is the same as the *petra doue nacque nostro signor Jesu Christo*. The Venetians are said to have offered 30,000 ducats for it, but Mehmed II replied that he would not part with it for 100,000.³⁹ The subsequent fate of the stone is not known.

Despite the length of our poem, it is not impossible that it should have been inscribed

the Blachernae" (τοῦ κατεμπυρισμένου ναοῦ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν). The church of the Blachernae burned down in 1434.

³⁹ F. Babinger, *Reliquienschacher am Osmanenhof im XV. Jahrhundert*, Sitz. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Kl. (1956), Heft 2, p. 19.

—not indeed upon the Stone of the Deposition, but on its pedestal or in close proximity to it. Inordinately long inscriptions seem to have come into fashion during the Comnenian period, witness the conciliar edict of 1166.⁴⁰ It is rather unlikely, however, that Meletios or his source should have copied the inscription on the spot. I believe that Meletios derived it from a manuscript, the more so as it is said that he composed his *Geography* while residing at Naupaktos.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See *DOP*, 17 (1963), p. 315 ff.

⁴¹ See Βίος τοῦ μακαρίτου . . . Μελετίου placed at the beginning of the Γεωγραφία (unpaginated).



1.



2.

Trebizond, St. Sophia. Graffiti in Dome

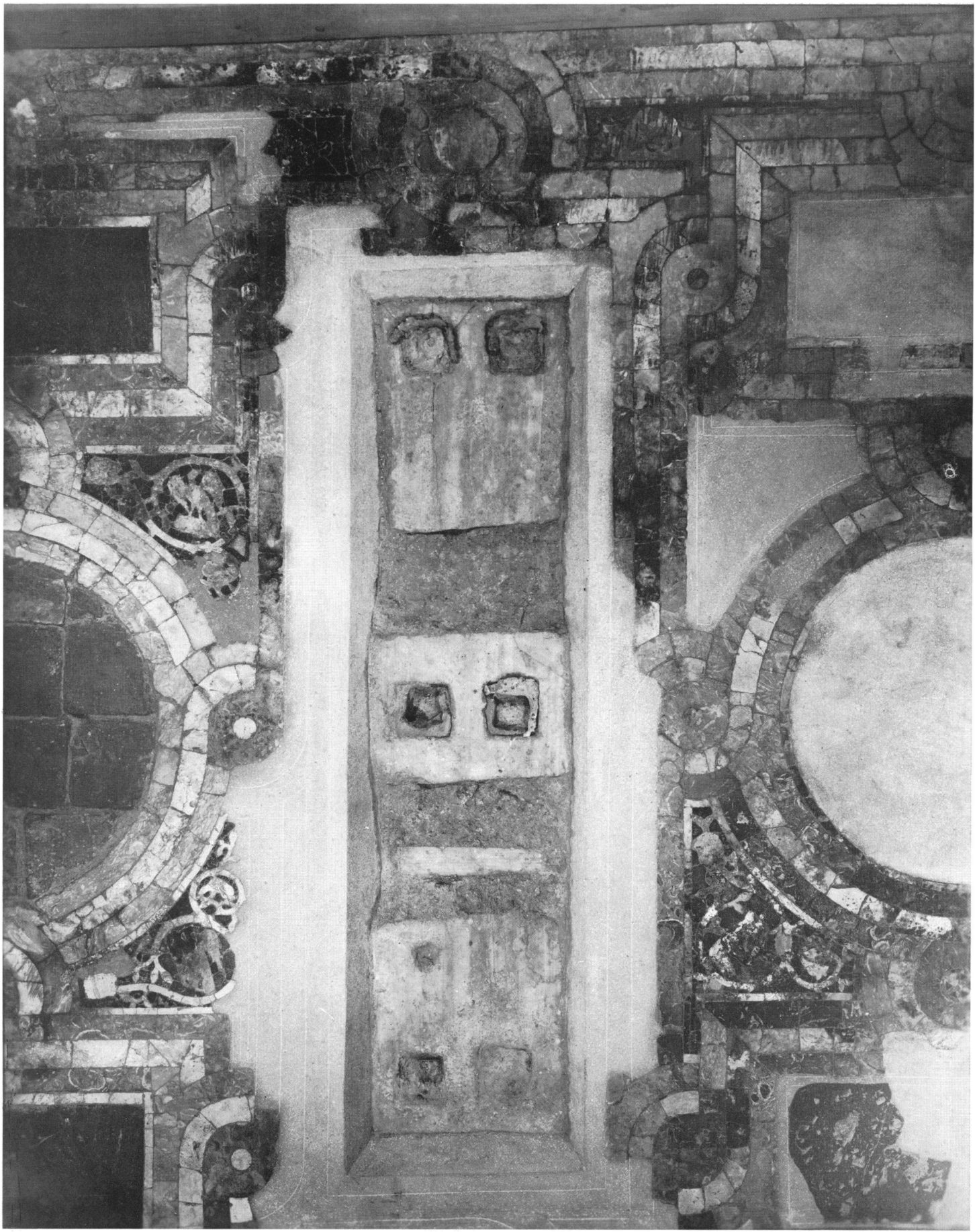


3.

Istanbul, Octagonal Structure next to St. Mary Chalkoprateia. Frescoes



4.



5. Istanbul, Zeyrek Camii. Detail of *opus sectile* Pavement